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Source: *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 18, No. 52 (Jul., 1939), pp. 142-154

Published by: the [Modern Humanities Research Association](#) and [University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4203556>

Accessed: 17/06/2014 22:47

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THE EARLIEST CONTACTS BETWEEN SLAVS AND ROUMANIANS

The settlement of the Slavs in the South-East of Europe completely altered the ethnographic complexion of that region, and exerted a decisive influence on the subsequent development of the Roman East, separated as it was from the Roman West by the arrival of the Slavs. The Roumanian people, heir to the Roman East, formed in the Carpatho-Balkan region traversed by the Slavs, who, establishing themselves in different parts of this region, denationalised the Romance element in some places and were themselves denationalised in others.

These general conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of the earliest contacts between Slavs and Roumanians. If, however, we try to give a precise answer to the question when, where, and under what circumstances there occurred these first contacts between the Roumanians of the Carpatho-Balkan region and the Slavs arriving in these parts from their Northern home—roughly speaking, the Poland of today, where they had dwelt during the first thousand years before Christ—we enter an uncertain field which is full of temptation for the builder of hypotheses. The problem is complicated by chronological elements, by questions of historical geography (when and in what direction did the Slavs come?), by points of Slavonic dialectology and questions concerned with the centre of formation of the Roumanian people (North or South of the Danube?). The problem of the earliest contacts between Slavs and Roumanians thus comes within the sphere of the complicated history of South-Eastern Europe during the first centuries of the Christian era, concerning which our historical sources have scarcely anything to say, for the reason that this region was only on the edge of the immediate interests and preoccupations of the civilised world, and hence of Graeco-Roman historiography. The sources of information which are open to us are thus rather indirect and of a linguistic nature (linguistic contacts, the data of toponomy) than direct (documentary).

The oldest certain and direct reference to the presence of the Slavs in the South-East of Europe occurs in the well-known passage in Iordanes (*Getica* V, 33-35): "*In qua Scythia prima ab occidente gens residet Gepidarum, quae magnis opinatisque ambitur fluminibus. Nam Tisia per aquilonem eius chuorumque*

*discurrit; ab africo vero magnus ipse Danubius, ab euro Flutansis secat, qui rapidus ac verticosus in Istri fluenta furens divolvitur. Introrsus illis Dacia est, ad coronae speciem arduis Alpibus emunita, iuxta quorum sinistrum latus, qui in aquilone vergit, ab ortu Vistulae fluminis per immensa spatia Venetharum natio populosa consedit. Quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutantur, principaliter tamen Sclaveni et Antes nominantur. Sclaveni a civitate Novietunense et lago qui appellatur Mursiano usque ad Danastrum et in boream Viscla tenus commorantur: hi paludes silvasque pro civitatibus habent. Antes vero, qui sunt eorum fortissimi, qua Ponticum mare curvatur, a Danastro extenduntur usque ad Danaprum, quae flumina multis mansionibus ab invicem absunt.”*¹ (“The first people towards the West are the Gepidae, who dwell in this Scythia, which is surrounded by great and famous rivers. For from the North flows the Tisa, from the West the great Danube itself, while to the East the swift and turbulent Flutansis pours its noisy current into the Ister. In the midst of these, Dacia is fortified by the lofty Alps as with a crown. On the Western (left) side of these, which inclines towards the North, from the sources of the river Vistula, there dwell over an immense space the populous nation of the Venethae. Although today the name of these varies according to tribe and place, they are nevertheless mainly called the Sclaveni and Antes. The Slavs inhabit from the town of Novietunum and the lake called Mursian as far as the Dniester, and to the North as far as the Vistula. They have marshes and forests for towns. But the Antes, who are the most powerful among them, extend from the Dniester as far as the Dnieper, where the Black Sea curves. Those rivers are many days’ journey one from the other.”)

Two manuscripts present this part of Iordanes’ text corrupted by the interpolation:² “. . . a civitate Nova et Slavino rumunense et lacu qui appellatur Mursianus . . .” This reading has been adopted by the German historian Zeuss³ and by the Roumanian philologist B.P. Haşdeu;⁴ but as it is impossible in view of the generally much clearer context in the majority of the manuscripts and the proofs brought forward by criticism of

¹ Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist. auct. ant.* V 62.—Cf. Niederle, *Slovanské starozitnosti*, II2, 291, no. 3.

² Cf. D. Russo, *Critica textelor, şi tehnica ediţiilor* (Buletinul Comisiei Istorie a României I, 1912, 20, note).

³ *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, (Göttingen, 1904).

⁴ *Strat şi substrat* (Magnum Etymologicum Romaniae III, p. xiii).

the text and the interpreters of this passage, the geographical conclusions which have been arrived at on the strength of this reading must be abandoned.

On the basis of this testimony by Iordanes we can establish the fact that in the VI century (551), between the Danube, the Olt and the Tisa, there dwelt the Gepidæ, and from the mouths of the Danube as far as the sources of the Vistula to the West and as far as the Dnieper to the East, the Slavs. The place-names in this passage of Iordanes entitle us to assign this region to the Slavs for the VI century.

Novietunum, a name of Celtic origin, is the Isaccea of today on the lower Danube. Discussion has been more prolonged around the identification of the Mursian lake. The Western theory, which links up this place-name with Lake Mur at the confluence of the Danube and the Save with the river Mur or with other similar place-names of today, must, it appears, be abandoned now that J. Mikkola⁵ has adduced adequate arguments in support of the identification of Lake Mursianus with the lagoon Razelm (Razim), which in ancient times was called Hal-myris, proceeding from the second half of this word (-myris), which he identifies with the basic element in Mursianus. The first part of the word is the Greek ἅλς (salt). By his reading he confirms the identification of the enigmatic Ozolimna (Ὀζολίμνη, Οὐζολίμνη) mentioned by Anna Commena for the year 1087, with the lake Razelm, as suggested by N. Iorga⁶ and Gheorghe Bratianu.⁷ Ozolimna, for which Iorgu Iordan⁸ proposes the Slav etymon solī (cf. Solina in Croatia, Osolin in Poland) is thus the Slav translation of the ancient Halmyris. The second part, the suffix of Ozolimna, is a popular etymology connected with the Greek λίμνη (lake, pond).

Proceeding from this identification of a place-name, the location of the Slavs in the 6th century may be fixed with a certain degree of precision. Taking as a basis Iordanes' text, the Slavs penetrated the Dacia of Trajan as far as the mouths of the Danube and the plain of Muntenia, and spread to the West as far

⁵ *Południowa granica Słowian u Iordanesa* (Symbolae grammaticae in honorem J. Rozwadowski II, 111 sq.).

⁶ *Revista istorica* V, 1919, 109.

⁷ *Vicina* (Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine X, 1923, 126); *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*, Bucarest, 1935, 22.

⁸ *Buletinul Institutului de filologie română*, "Al. Philippide" III, 1936, 170-1.

as the Vistula, to the East as far as the Dnieper. To the west of the Slavs of Dacia are mentioned the Gepidæ.⁹

As regards the river Flutansis, it is difficult to decide whether this name refers to the Olt, as F. Lot supposes,¹⁰ or to a river of Moldavia (the Siret or the Moldova itself, although it does not flow into the Danube as the text says). The context argues for a river in Moldavia. From the formal point of view Flutansis is the prototype of Moldova, a name of Celtic origin cognate with Vltava,¹¹ which in the Fulda Chronicle appears in the form Fuldacha. The Germanic intermediary has contributed to the phonetic evolution Flutansis—Vltava—Moldova, Moldau.¹²

The historical sources of the following epoch confirm the information given by Iordanes with respect to the situation of the Slavs in Dacia. Prokopios of Cæsarea (†562), the historiographer of Justinian, speaks of the invasions of the Slavs across the Danube into the Byzantine Empire. He names two towns restored by Justinian on the frontier of the Danube to withstand the Slavs (*Ἀδῖνα* and *Οὐλμιτῶν*), and mentions the town in distant Scythia Halmyris (*Ἀλμυρίς*),¹³ the lacus Mursianus of Iordanes. Otherwise this strategic point at the mouths of the Danube is known to the ancients under the name of Peuke; it is formed by the prolongation of the lagoon of Razelm by the river Talița in Dobrogea, and makes a triangle with the arm of St. George and the Black Sea.

In just this part of Dacia the presence of the Slavs in the second half of the 6th century is shown by the testimony of other

⁹ Another interpretation of this passage in Iordanes may be found in F. Lot, *Les invasions barbares* I, 1937, 216–7, who accepts the identification of the Mursian lake with the marshes at the confluence of the Save and the Danube, and in G. Bratianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique : le peuple roumain*, Bucarest, 1937, 52–3, who proceeds in his interpretation of the passage from the Noviodunum in Upper Pannonia.

¹⁰ l.c. 216, note 4.

¹¹ Cf. J. Mikkola, *Potudniowa granica Słowian u Iordanesa* (*Symbolae Grammaticae* II, 114).

¹² Cf. J. Mikkola, *Samo und sein Reich* (*Arch.f.sl.Ph.* 42, 1928, 90); M. Vasmer, *Beiträge zur slavischen Altertumskunde* (*Zeitschr.f.sl.Phil.* 10, 1933, 42–3).

¹³ *De aed.* IV 7, (ed. B. G. Teubner, Lipsiae 1913): οὐδὲ δὴ ἄγχιςτα καὶ φρούριον Ἀδῖνα καινούργησας ἐδείματο, ἐπεὶ διηνεκὲς διαλανθάνοντες Σκλαβηνοὶ βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ἐνεβρεύνοντες τε κεκρυμένως αἰ τοὺς τῇδε ἰόντες ἄβατα ἐποιοῦν τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία.—ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτοῦ ἦν μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχύρωμα, Οὐλμιτῶν ὄνομα, βάρβαρον δὲ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐκείνῃ τὰς ἐνέδρας πεποικότων.—καὶ ἄλλο δὲ φρούριον Σκυθίας ἐν ὑστέρῳ κείται, Ἀλμυρίς ὄνομα, οὐδὲ τὰ πολλὰ σαθρὰ γεγονότα διαφανῶς ανοικοδομησάμενος διεσώσατο.

Byzantine chroniclers,¹⁴ who relate how in the Spring of the year 593 Priskos set out from Heraclea via Drizipera for Dorostolum, where he crossed the Danube and attacked the Slavs, whose Prince Ardagast (Radogost) retreated to places inaccessible to the Byzantine armies. A Gepid led Priskos through forests and marshes to a place on the river Paspirios where there was a Slav leader (ῥήξ) named Musokios.¹⁵

The Slavs are thus historically attested in the 6th century on the Danube, on the plain of Muntenia, even if we only take into account the testimony of these chroniclers. They arrived in these parts after following the course of the rivers of Moldavia, the Dniester, the Pruth and the Siret; a branch of them passed the Carpathians into Transylvania.

The movement of the Slavs towards the South certainly began much before any reference to it in historic sources. They arrived in Trajan's Dacia, banded in tribes or clans, alone or led by other peoples from the region between the Baltic and the Carpathians. Thus, at the end of the 4th century, the pressure of the Huns, who destroyed the Gothic State in the year 375, led the Slavs towards the South.¹⁶

From the North-West, through Pannonia, there came into the South-East of Europe other Slavs, the ancestors of the Serbs and Croats. They followed the course of the rivers Tisa, Gran and Vah;¹⁷ more precise information is also lacking with regard to these Slav movements. The statements of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who, writing in the 10th century, fixes in the 7th century the arrival of the Serbo-Croats in the Balkans, have been questioned.¹⁸

Jagić maintains that the Serbo-Croats arrived in the regions they occupy in the Balkan Peninsula at the same time as the other Slavs. We must assume a slow penetration of Slavs into these parts before their definite settlement in compact masses. And in this part of South-Eastern Europe we find the

¹⁴ *Theophylacti Simocatae Historiae*, (ed. Boor), 1887, VI, 8. *Theophanis Chronographia* (ed. Boor), 1883, I, 276.

¹⁵ Cf. V. Pârvan, *Getica, o protoistorie a Daciei*, București, 1926, p. 64.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Czekanowski, *Wstęp do historii Słowian*, 1927, 98.

¹⁷ Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starozinosti* II, 1, 160.

¹⁸ V. Jagić, *Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der südslavischen Sprachen* (*Arch.sl.Ph.* XVII, 1895, 47-87).

Slavs embodied in the political formations of the invading peoples.¹⁹

The Embassy of Priscus, proceeding to the court of Attila in the year 448, crossed the Danube and, via parts of the modern Banat, passed through Pannonia as far as Attila's capital. The people they met on their way offered them *mei and μέδος*,²⁰ the food and drink of the primitive Slavs. But these might have been customary among other peoples of Indo-European origin and do not prove with absolute certainty the Slavonic character of the people in question. A surer indication of the Slavonic character of this people is provided by the word *strava* mentioned by Iordanes in connection with a Slav custom, in his description of Attila's burial.²¹

The Slavs, coming from the North, settled in Pannonia and the Western part of the Balkan Peninsula at about the same time as they established themselves in Trajan's Dacia and to the South of the Danube. This results from the historical evidence examined in part above. It is not possible to fix chronologically the beginning of the process of Slav migration, but the end of this process is well known. The close of the 7th century finds the Slavs extending over the whole of the Balkan Peninsula as far as the Peloponnese.

Between the 6th and 7th centuries at the latest the Slavs came in contact with the Roumanians, wherever the Roumanian people may have formed, North or South, or both North and South, of the Danube. Unlike the other invading peoples, the Slavs settled permanently in the Balkan Peninsula, where they arrived in the 7th century. From now on the Slavs, the Roumanians and the Albanians, and to a certain extent the Greeks as well, live amid an uninterrupted exchange of influences in a sort of symbiosis which formed on the basis of an old common Carpatho-Balkan civilisation. This symbiosis is reflected in the languages of these peoples. These languages of different origins—Latin, Hellene, Slav, Illyrian—form a "linguistic league" united by the common linguistic characteristics known as "Balkan". Serbian participates

¹⁹ Iordanes, *Get.* 226: "igitur ab Dacia et Pannonia provinciis in quibus tunc Hunni diversis subditis nationibus insidebant, egrediens Attila . . ." Cf. Niederle, *op. cit.* II, 1, 135-6.

²⁰ Cf. C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, 68, note 3.

²¹ *Get.* 49, 258: "postquam talibus lamentis est defletus, stravam super tumulum eius, quam appellat ipsi, ingenti comesatione concelebrant." Cf. C. Jireček, *op. cit.* 69, note 30.

to a less degree in this linguistic union. Roumanian developed from now on in the neighbourhood of the Slavonic linguistic group which has all the characteristics of Bulgarian. The language of the Slavs of Dacia also formed part of this group of dialects.

These are the conclusions at which, on the strength of historical evidence, we arrive with respect to the presence of the Slavs in Trajan's Dacia in the 6th century. As regards the presence of the Roumanians, that is to say of the Romance element of the East, which had remained to the North of the Danube without interruption even after the official evacuation of Dacia by Aurelian, we have, for this period, no direct historical evidence. Hence the problem of continuity is still widely and passionately discussed in scientific circles.²²

The linguistic data on which we wish to draw in our study of the earliest contacts between Slavs and Roumanians belong to two departments of linguistics, toponymy and Slavo-Roumanian linguistic borrowings. The methodological criteria of investigation are the same for both departments.

The Slavonic elements in Roumanian are formed from different strata superimposed or juxtaposed from the point of view of chronology and dialect geography. The methodological difficulty consists in distinguishing between the various strata and deciding what is old and what new. This difficulty is due in particular to the great resemblance between the various dialects, and between the various periods in the evolutions of the Slav dialects. An elementary example will bring out this point. Upon the old *gânscă* there has in Roumania been superimposed a more recent *gâcă* of Bulgarian origin, which is tending to eliminate the older word from the literary language.

²² The most recent works of importance which give the present stage of research into this question are the following :

Ovide Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, I, 1900, 204-348.

S. Pușcariu, *Essai de reconstitution du roumain primitif (Etudes de linguistique roumaine, 1937, 65-120)*; *Zur Rekonstruktion des Urriumanischen* (Beizheft zur *Zeitschr.f.rom.Phil.* XXVI, 1910).

R. W. Seton-Watson, *A history of the Roumanians*, Cambridge, 1934, 1-16.

Al. Philippide, *Originea Românilor*, I-II, Iași, 1925-8.

M. Friedwagner, *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumanen in ihrer Frühzeit* (*Zeitschr.f.rom.Phil.* 54, 1934, 641-715).

Ferdinand Lot, *Les invasions barbares* I, 1937, 278-90.

G. I. Bratianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique : le peuple roumain*, Bucarest, 1937.

From the statistical point of view the greater part of the Slavonic elements in Roumanian have entered the language through literary channels (the Church, social and political organisations, popular literature, etc.). In the majority of cases their phonetic structure reveals the dialect-group from which these influences proceeded. But it is clear that the Roumanians could not have lived side by side with the Slavs and mingling with them, organising common political formations, without both undergoing and exerting linguistic influences, beginning with the first century after their meeting with the Slavs. The character of the Slavonic loans in Roumanian at once dismisses the hypothesis which admits the entry of the oldest Slav elements into Roumanian no earlier than the 10th-11th centuries. But before accepting these logical conclusions let us consult the facts.

Toponymy, in the present stage of research, reveals upon the territory north of the Danube, Trajan's Dacia, several layers of names of different origin which show the peoples that have passed through this territory during the course the centuries. Upon a layer of Thracian names there has been imposed, in the regions into which the Iranians penetrated, a layer of Scytho-Iranian origin.²³ The Celts have left toponomical traces in the name of Moldavia and in other names such as Noviodunum (Isaccea). Slavonic names of different epochs and from different dialects are found all over Trajan's Dacia side by side with Romance place-names. A systematic study of the stratification of the Slavonic place-names on the territory of Roumania would throw much light on the demography of the past of the Roumanian people and on the relations between Slavs and Roumanians.

In the study of the toponymy of Dacia we must take account of the fact, pointed out by V. Pârvan, that some place-names were taken by the Slavs from still unromanised Dacia and transmitted to the Roumanians,²⁴ just as Latin place-names were transmitted to the Roumanians by the Slavs, e.g. *Olt*.

The Slavs were caught up in the process of romanisation of the Dacians and they too were romanised. These complicated demographic processes find their expression in the toponymy of the region. Thus is explained why some autochthonic names

²³ Cf. V. Pârvan, *Considerațiuni asupra unor nume de râuri daco-scitice* (An. Ac. Rom. mem. sect. ist. seria III, tom I, București, 1923).

²⁴ V. Pârvan, *Getica* 287-8. Cf. also J. Melich, *O kilku nazwach rzek na Węgrzech i w Siedmiogrodzie* (*Symbolae grammaticae*, II, 101-10), who supposes the mediation of **Hungarian**.

of rivers (Timiș, Criș, Someș, Mureș) do not correspond to the regular phonetic evolution of Latin, and why other place-names are Slavonic or Magyar.²⁵ The Turanian Pechenegs and Cumans have left another series of place-names in the regions occupied by them between the 9th and 11th centuries.²⁶

The toponymy of Dacia gives us valuable hints with regard to the oldest contacts between Slavs and Roumanians. These hints, corroborated by historic and linguistic data, are of the greatest importance. Slavonic place-names are found, in Trajan's Dacia, particularly in the region of the plains and hills. The smaller rivers and the regions named after them are to a large extent Slavonic: Bistrița, Putna, Râmnic, Suceava, Ialomița, etc.

The name of the principal river, the Danube (Roumanian Dunăre) has been preserved by the Roumanians alone with the Thracian Suffix *-ris*,²⁷ but with the thematic vowel altered by Slav intervention.²⁸ This is another indication that in the region of the Danube the Slavs encountered the Daco-Roman element whose process of romanisation had, however, not been completed.

The toponymy of Trajan's Dacia bears witness to the fact that Roumanians and Slavs lived together in these regions. This symbiosis must have begun when the Slavs reached the Danube, that is to say in the 6th century at the latest. North of the Carpathians, in Transylvania, the Slavs created political organisations together with the Roumanians. Their existence up to the arrival of the Hungarians in Pannonia is attested by the anonymous Magyar chronicle of King Béla and by the oldest Slav chronicle, that of Nestor. Although these chroniclers were not contemporaries of the events they relate, they nevertheless recount facts preserved by tradition or in sources unknown today.²⁹ The terminology of the oldest Roumanian social and political organisations shows that Slav terms were used to

²⁵ Cf. Ferdinand Lot, l.c. 283. Al. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române*, II, 53-54, 63-6.

²⁶ Cf. A. Philippide, *Originea Românilor*, II, 1928, 362-73.

²⁷ Cf. J. Mikkola, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* 42, 1928, 87.

²⁸ Cf. Al. Rosetti, l.c. II, 64.

²⁹ Silviu Dragomir, *Câteva nume ale organizației de stat slavo-române* (Dacoromania I, 1920-I, 147-161).

N. Drăganu, *Românii în veacurile IX-XIV pe baza toponimiei și a onomasticeii*, 1933, 7-17.

C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor*, I, 2nd ed., 1935, 263-5.

translate or to replace the old Latin expressions.³⁰ South of the Carpathians place-names adduce the same evidence as to the existence in common of Roumanians and Slavs. The latter gave precise ethnic names to the region in which the Roumanian population lived in compact mass, calling it *Vlașca*.

North of the Danube, in Trajan's Dacia, and South of the Danube, in the Balkan Peninsula, the Roumanian element is attested at almost the same period, round about the 9th century.³¹ The argument *ex silentio* against the persistence of the Romance element North of the Danube proves nothing. The Albanians, for instance, are not attested by historical sources till the 11th century. Yet they had existed before then, and the opponents of continuity say that they existed South of the Danube, on the territory which comes within the sphere of Graeco-Roman interests. Concerning the Slavs of the East we have no information from Byzantine and Latin historians over a period of several centuries; yet they too were in existence at that time.

Examining, from this toponomic point of view, the region South of the Danube, particularly ancient Dacia Ripensis, Dacia Mediterranea and Dardania, we observe that here the Romance element dwelt in compact masses up to the arrival of the Slavs. Apart from numerous place-names of Roumanian origin spread over a large part of the Balkan Peninsula, there has been preserved in this region a layer of place-names of Latin origin: Niš (Naïssus), Srđec (Serdica), Liplian (Ulpiana), Skoplje (Scupi).³²

The study of Slav dialects confirms the indications of historic and toponomic data in the direction of the compact persistence of the Romance-Roumanian element in the region South of the Danube which forms a prolongation of the Carpathian region North of the Danube. The Dutch Slavist Nicolas van Wijk has shown that Slav dialectology requires the existence of a Romance-Roumanian population between the Serb and Bulgar linguistic territories before these two Slav linguistic territories met.³³

³⁰ Cf. I. Bogdan, *Originea voevodatului la Români* (A.A.R. mem. sect. ist. II. vol. XXIV, p. 14); id., *Despre cneji români* (ib. vol. XXVI, 1903, p. 31-2),

³¹ Cf. F. Lot, *l.c.* 289.

³² Cf. C. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, 1891, 123-4; Al. Philippide, *Originea Românilor*, I, 774.

³³ *Taalkundige en historische Gegevens betreffende de oudste Bedrekingen tussen Serven en Bulgaren* (Mededeelingen of the Dutch Academy. LV, Serie A. Nr. 3, Amsterdam, 1923).

The life in common over a period of centuries of Roumanians and Slavs, side by side with or mingled with one another, is also reflected in reciprocal Slavo-Roumanian linguistic influences. Wherever the first contacts between Slavs and Roumanians may have occurred, they took place in the 7th century at the latest. The linguistic arguments, like the historical, point to the oldest encounter between Slavs and Roumanians as having occurred North and South of the Danube.

The borrowing of the Slavs from the Latin of the Balkans present the same phonetic characteristics as the place-names of the Carpathian region transmitted to the Roumanians by the Slavs. Thus the Slavs borrowed from Latin: *calendæ* (Sl. *Koleda*, Roum. *colindă*), *Traianus* (Sl. *trojanŭ* Roum. *troian*), *Rosalia* (Sl. *rusalja*, Roum. *rusalii*). These words, borrowed in the Balkan Peninsula or elsewhere, present the same phonetic transformations as do Latin *Aluta* (Sl. *Oltu*, Roum. *Olt*): Germ. *Donawi* (Sl. *Dunavŭ* (Scr. *Dünâj*) + *-ris*) Roum. *Dunăre* borrowed in the Carpatho-Danubian region.

The Slav elements penetrated Roumanian during the period of Common Roumanian, that is to say before the separation of Roumanian into the four dialects: Arouman, Megleno-Rouman (in the Balkan Peninsula), Istro-Rouman (in Istria) and Daco-Rouman (in the Roumania of today). The presence of a stratum of Slav elements in all these dialects is a proof of early contact between Roumanians and Slavs. One of the principal causes of the dislocation of the Roumanian mass was the permanent settlement of the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula in the 7th century. By this settlement part of the Roumanian element was Slavised, and the greater part was pushed towards the South, the North and the West. The elements which migrated towards the North strengthened the Roumanians already in existence there, in Trajan's Dacia, who had Roumanised the Slavs present in that region. There took place here a process of denationalisation directly opposite to that which occurred South of the Danube. The preconceived idea that the Danube acted as a barrier between North and South must be dismissed. Where the Romance element was most compact, in the Balkan Peninsula, is shown by Latin or Roumania place-names.

The phonetic structure of the Roumanian words of Slav origin often reveals a great antiquity. Thus there are in

Roumanian words containing the old group **tort*, **tolt* without metathesis: *gard*, *daltă*, *baltă*.³⁴

The language of the Slavs of Trajan's Dacia formed part of the group of Slav dialects which also comprised the dialects spoken South of the Danube and, to a certain extent, in Macedonia. The phonetic structure of the Slav elements in Roumanian and also in Magyar, like the phonetic structure of the place-names in this region, is a proof of this fact. This structure corresponds to that of the Carpatho-Balkan dialects of Slavonic; by this I mean the Slav element which existed in Trajan's Dacia, Eastern Pannonia, Moesia. One of the characteristic features of these Slav dialects is the group *št*, *žd* as reflex of the Indo-European and Common Slav group *tj*, *dj*. The Slavonic words in Roumanian, like those in Magyar, present this phonetic characteristic. It is also found in the name of the capital of Hungary, *Pest* (*pešt*), which represents the Slavonic word *pešŭ* (stove).³⁵ The same phonetic parallelism is presented by the Slavonic elements in Roumanian and Magyar as regards the nasal vowels of Common Slav.³⁶

Albanian offers a situation similar to that of Roumanian as regards the nasal vowels. It cannot however be affirmed, in the absence of precise investigation, whether there exists a link between the Slav, Roumanian and Albanian phenomenon.³⁷

We may explain these cases of parallelism by the fact that the Hungarians acquired these Slav elements in Pannonia, in Upper Moesia, together with the Roumanians, from the Slavs whom they found there, whether they came from Atelkuz (Bugeac, South Bessarabia) through the passes in the Carpathians of Moldavia or made a detour to the North and entered Pannonia through the passes in the Northern Carpathians. These parallelisms show that the Roumanian language may have formed both North and South of the Danube, since Slavonic speech both North and South belonged to the same group of dialects.

³⁴ Cf. Gr. Nandriș, *Les diphtongues à liquides dans les éléments slaves du roumain* (Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France, 1925, II-e partie); id. *Despre metateza lichidelor în elementele slave din limba română* (Daco-Romania VI, 1931, 350-7).

³⁵ Cf. V. Jagič, *Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1913, 220-2.

³⁶ Cf. Oskar Asbóth, *Die Reflexe von ę und a in den slavischen Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache* (Jagič-Festschrift, 235-46).

³⁷ Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Rumänisch, Romanisch, Albanesisch* (Mitteilungen des rum. Inst. Wien, I, 42, 1914).

Atlasul Lingvistic Român, one volume of which has so far appeared,³⁸ confirms these views and throws fresh light on the oldest Slav elements in Roumanian and on Slavo-Roumanian linguistic relations. The lexical maps in this book concerned with the nomenclature of parts of the human body show that the few elements of Slav origin in this part of the vocabulary have spread from different directions to parts of the Roumanian linguistic territory. They come from Bulgaria, from Serbia, from the East. This means that most Slav elements entered Roumanian late, after the ethnographic situation in South-East Europe had become definitely established. *Atlasul Lingvistic* further shows, however, as S. Pușcariu has emphasised,³⁹ that the Latin element has been preserved with most tenacity in the Western parts of Trajan's Dacia, where the majority of Slav innovations have not penetrated. This linguistic evidence is corroborated by historic facts also. This region was the one most intensively colonised by the Romans,⁴⁰ and, as Pușcariu observes, "we should have to believe in miracles if we admitted that the Roumanians, coming from South of the Danube, settled just in the districts containing most Roman colonists from former days." This being so, the Roumanians met the Slavs of Iordanes in Dacia in the 6th century at the latest, and in the Balkan Peninsula during the following century at the latest.

These are the conclusions at which we may arrive on the basis of the analysis of historic data and linguistic facts, in order to be able to reply, at least in part, to the question when and where the oldest encounters between Roumanians and Slavs took place.

GRIGORE NANDRIȘ
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³⁸ S. Pușcariu—S. Pop, *Atlasul Lingvistic Român*, Partea I, vol. I, Părțile Corpului omenesc și boalele lui. In folio 16 pagini + 150 hărți Cluj., 1938—Id. *Micul Atlas Lingvistic Român*, in-8°, 51 pag. + 208 hărți, Cluj 1938.

³⁹ *Prospect la Atlasul Lingvistic Român.*

⁴⁰ Cf. C. C. Giurescu, *l.c.* I, 101–176.